

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part I

To get acquainted with the historical development of the TPLF and understand its dangerous and capricious agenda, it is better to have understanding of Ethiopia's background.

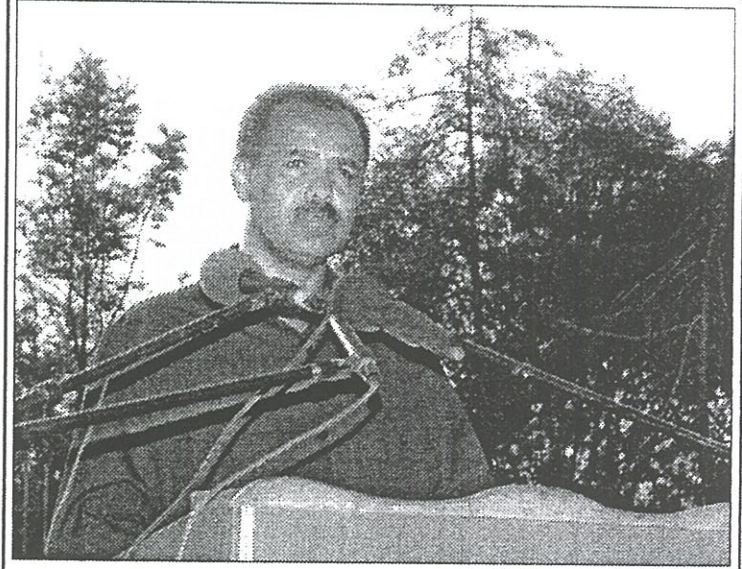
Ethiopia managed to hold its current geographical features after 1945, when the Allied powers emerged victorious in the Second World War and the British handed over the territory of Ogaden to Emperor Haile Selassie. Before the formation of present day Ethiopia, the powerful and rival traditional kingdoms in this region included that of Tigray, Gojam, Shoa and the Mahdi. However, the kingdoms of Tigray and Gojam eventually got weaker due to the invasion of the Madists and the Italians. Hence, by exploiting the antagonistic turbulence of the kingdoms in the surrounding and noticing the highly cutthroat expansionist whim of the British and French colonialists, Menelik II, the King of Shoa, by befriending Europeans managed to emerge as a homogenic power in a position to mark the first geographical shape of contemporary Ethiopia.

During this time in which fierce competition and capricious convergence as well as expansionist tendencies and Ethiopia's formation as a viable state were witnessed, the Amhara nobility assumed supreme authority. And by establishing a full imperial jurisdiction managed to put all administrative and political prerogative as well as land under the control of the King and his family, the nobility and their war lords. The other nationalities became their mere subjects and serfs. And in such a feudal system, establishing a modern nation was a far fetched possibility. As a result, all the people who were suppressed at gun point, in order to get relief began to oppose the system. The expansionist ambition of Ethiopian rulers however didn't cease there. Through a subtle maneuver to own an outlet to the sea, the Haileselassie regime, by dismantling the federation which it earlier designed, annexed the one time Italian colony Eritrea through the collaboration of the US. And this fueled internal instability in Ethiopia. As a consequence, the imperial regime of Haileselassie crumbled due to Eritrea's strong defiance and the rebellion of the people of Ethiopia.

However, even if the Haileselassie regime was ousted from power, since the rebellion of the Ethiopian people was not as such organized, establishing a system that recognizes the rights of all the people of Ethiopia was far from possible. In Ethiopia, the power vacuum that was left behind due to the fall of the Haileselassie regime was exploited by a military junta that possessed by far a better organization. Hence, this junta or the Derg assumed power. The Derg was not different in its conceited orientation from the previous Ethiopian ruling class, and hence it was not able to bring about a genuinely progressive ideology that could equally serve the entire Ethiopian people. Instead, it opted to crush popular opposition through the gun and turned the country in to a bloodbath. And this situation gave rise to the creation of militant national and multinational associations and organizations. And the military opposition of the people of Tigray was born from such a backdrop.

Taking into consideration the cruel acts of suppression the Ethiopian rulers were committing not only on the people of Eritrea but also on their own people, the revolutionary organizations of the Eritrean people notably the EPLF has been supporting opposition groups in different regions of Ethiopia both in moral and material terms from the early stage. By the time the Haileselassie regime collapsed, as part of this cooperation, the EPRP and Tigrayan opposition forces who were trained by the EPLF, went back to Ethiopia from Eritrea to reinforce their armed struggle. A member of these opposition forces who were trained by the EPLF and then later sent to join his comrades in the fields of Tigray, was the Tigrayan fighter Mehari Tekle. Establishing contact with the Tigrayan students in Addis Ababa who were organizing the Progressive Party of Tigray then, he opted to start the armed struggle. As a result, an organization by the name "Tigray People's Liberation Front" was founded in February 1975. Its essential cadres were made to obtain training in the EPLF training center. However, within a short period misunderstandings and antagonisms emerged among the Tigrayans who congregated for the training. The organization split into two and the TPLF came into being. Alongside this, other Tigrayan organizations were also present. The EDU, the Front for the liberation of the People of Tigray, Tigray Liberation Front, the Integrating Committee and others started participating in the beginning. But the spirit of dominance among these organizations led to armed confrontation. Finally, the TPLF with the help and support it received from the EPLF, for understandable reasons, emerged as the dominant organization.

The people of Tigray who had the ultimate aspiration for deliverance from oppression and discrimination, had been nurturing this organization from the start, which is now stabbing them from behind. By rallying behind it and offering the organization both material and financial assistance as well as making all possible sacrifices, the people of Tigray has enabled the regime to secure its current position. However, the shallow objectives as well as the acts of intrigue of the TPLF leadership failed to represent the true aspirations of the people of Tigray. Moreover, instead of becoming a leader of a revolution the clique opted to commit acts of vendetta of past oppressions upon a grudge and began pursuing the politics of ethnicity. Consequently, the clique set an inextinguishable fire throughout Ethiopia, and while burning the whole country it is also itself in flames.



## PRESIDENT ISAIAS'S SPEECH ON MARTYRS DAY

*Ladies and Gentlemen  
Participants and Guests*

I would first like to say Eternal Glory to the martyrs who laid down their lives to bring about Eritrea's independence and safeguard its sovereignty. I would also like to extend my appreciation to the Eritrean people at home and abroad and to those who lit the torch in memory of the martyrs and made contributions to add color to the auspicious occasion.

This annual occasion has a unique meaning in our daily lives and work place as it is a day in which we examine in our minds the meaning of our existence and measure the compensation we make to the martyrdom paid for the sake of the nation's honor.

In line with honoring the trust of our martyrs, the fact that our people have been exerting unremitting efforts beyond safeguarding the nation's sovereignty to build a developed and prosperous country over the past 16 years is indeed a source of gratification.

Apart from allocating one-third of the Government's annual budget in support of families of fallen heroes and needy nationals, the manifestation of genuine concern and feeling of solidarity demonstrated by citizens inside the country and abroad attest to the Eritrean people's noble culture and a concrete proof of their pledge to honor the trust of martyrs. My appreciation to all those who made contributions to this end.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

As I had mentioned in the Independence Day anniversary celebrations, although the progress we have registered in the development drive has laid a solid ground, it is nonetheless modest compared to our long-term target. However, in view of the fact that our campaign towards ensuring improved standard of living for the majority of the people remains firm, there is no doubt at all that we would fulfill the trust of our martyrs.

Let us once again reiterate our abiding commitment to honor the trust of martyrs through augmenting the all-round national development endeavors that have reached a turning point, especially the task of achieving food security. In addition, I would like to again call on all citizens to continue and strengthen the afforestation drive this year.

I wish a promising rainy season to us all.

*Glory to our Martyrs!  
Victory to the Masses!*

## PRESIDENT HOLDS TALKS WITH UNSC'S ...

*Continued From Page 1*

In a press conference he gave at Hotel Intercontinental Asmara following the meetings, the UN official indicated that Eritrea is making commendable efforts to achieve food security. He said that this experience is worth emulating by other countries.

Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik added that free food aid distribution has long been abandoned in Eritrea

and instead cash-for-food is now being applied.

The UN official went on to say a conference that 5 countries including Eritrea is scheduled to hold a meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, next week on ensuring food security in the Horn of Africa.

He further expressed his admiration to the Eritrean government's endeavors to promote peace and stability in the Horn.

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part II

### • TPLF During The Initial Stage of Armed Struggle

Rising from the various clashes among different political organization's in the Tigryan fields in 1975, the TPLF leadership went on for more than a year without a clear political program or policy. However, since the clique as a political entity had to clarify its programs and objectives, in February 1976 the TPLF issued a ludicrous statement known as 'Manifesto 68'. Some of the nonsensical points presented in the 'manifesto' are stated below.

In determining 'Who is a Tigryan?' the 1976 TPLF manifesto had stipulated that the identity of being a Tigryan applies to all Tigrinya speakers, Afars, Erob as well as the Agew and Baza (the Kunama). Although the location of the peoples just referred to is not clearly stated, the boundaries of the 'oppressed' Tigray region as per the manifesto runs from the Alowha River (Welo) in the south, the Mereb River to the north and encompasses Tselemti and Welkait from the west. As to the basic national question of the Tigryan people, the infamous manifesto states that 'since the oppressed peoples can no longer tolerate co-existence with their oppressors, it is neither possible nor necessary to continue this subjugated existence. Thus, realizing that the idea of mounting a united opposition struggle is not only impossible but impractical and unlikely as well, the objective of our struggle is to establish an independent Tigray Republic that is free from imperialist exploitation and oppression.'

After being advised by the Eritrean Liberation Forces that the 'Manifesto 68' is an unrealistic approach, the TPLF leadership withdrew it from official stages with out delay, or to be more exact the TPLF put on hold its program until the opportunity to take it out again presented itself. Hence, it was no secret that the TPLF had always remained secretly faithful to its initial manifesto all along. Leaders of the clique had made it clear in no uncertain terms that they don't believe in Ethiopian unity or a united struggle of the Ethiopian peoples. The 'Manifesto 68' is adequate concrete evidence that the TPLF had from the onset expansionist tendencies as regards the borders of Tigray.

Nobody can claim that the Tigryan people had no justifiable cause to wage their struggle or that their question had not been right. However, it had become clear from the beginning that the oppressed Tigryan people's just cause and struggle lacked a prudent leadership that could steer it into the right direction. One only has but to take a single look at the TPLF's vengeful and impetuous political program to understand the afore-mentioned fact. It is crystal clear that the clique had set out to secure its economic monopoly by exploiting the suffering and plight of the Tigray people and satisfy its dreams of vengeance at the expense of the lives of young Tigrayans. In short, the TPLF had from the outset intended to exploit the Tigryan people's passion for fighting to secure their rights and use it to serve its own factional interests. Rising from this devious and weak foundation, the clique went on without a clear or astute political philosophy, wasting no time in roaming from Tirana to Langley, changing principles with every new breeze and adopting multi-faceted stances.

The agenda of the TPLF as well as its unrealistic objectives lacked acceptance from all especially from the EPLF. Eventually it was forced to replace its objective which focused on "Establishing an independent Republic of Tigray" into "Respecting the right to self-determination of the people of Tigray". However, even if the TPLF seemed to exercise the latter objective in its official demeanor, from within it kept its subtle agenda of secession. And in many different ways, this hidden agenda no matter how much the TPLF tried to conceal was evidently noticeable. During the early stages, it declined the recommendation forwarded from the EPLF with regard to working together with the national and multinational Ethiopian opposition movements, and this was a reflection as to how much the TPLF was intent on its own plan. In 1976, the EPLF's suggestion that the TPLF struggle side by side with the EPRP didn't get much approval. The TPLF gave a deaf ear to this appeal due to its covert intentions.

The multinational EPRP organization in parallel with the TPLF began its armed struggle in Tigray. However, in addition to its other mistakes, the conceited feeling of "Greater Ethiopia" which largely imbued the ruling aristocratic classes of the Amhara was visibly present in the EPRP. Hence, these two opposition forces were obviously not able to merge. In order to suggest a remedy to their skewed progress, the EPLF leadership invited a meeting to propose a means on how to settle their quarrels. It also recommended that they plan realistic objectives and work together towards their goal. Due to their different views, however, they failed to accept the plea. Especially the TPLF was expecting that the EPLF would change its stand and align with it skidding from its principled conviction. Hence, the TPLF was not happy with the balanced and unbiased view of the EPLF. The leadership of the TPLF which was not pleased by the impartial statement of the EPLF, opted to abandon the EPLF which had nurtured it from the cradle. Hence, the TPLF didn't take long to befriend some other parties which it never trusted much before. This is because its stand is founded not on principles but rather on interests!

## FREE TRADE ZONE WILL HAVE GREAT ROLE IN DEVELOPING TOURISM INDUSTRY, HEAD OF TOURISM SERVICES

The head of tourism services at the ministry of Tourism Mr. Mohamed Idris Ibrahim said that Free Trade Zone will have great role in developing tourism industry in the country.

He said that the Ministry is giving extensive training to upgrade its man power so that services to be rendered in the free trade zone will be efficient.

Mr. Mohamed also disclosed that in the year 2006 the Ministry has profited 60 million US dollars from the international Tourism.

In an interview he conducted with ERINA Mr. Mohamed briefed that in the year 2006 over 78,000 tourists visited Eritrea. 79% of the number were Eritreans while the rest 21% came from different parts of the world.

Mr. Mohamed further added that the ministry is making efforts



to provide efficient services to tourists visiting the country. Moreover the Ministry has introduced international Tourism instructions and is working on upgrading its human resource capacity.

Finally Mr. Mohamed called all nationals residing in abroad and in the country to visit and enjoy their historically and naturally gifted places of the country and thereby encourage domestic tourism.

## MICRO-DAM UNDER CONSTRUCTION ADI-BIDEL

A micro-dam is under construction in Adi-Bidel, Central region, at a cost of over 2.3 million Nakfa so as to alleviate potable water supply problem.

The micro-dam has the capacity

of holding 90,000 cubic meters.

The inhabitants of Adi-Bidel numbering about 2,000 have been facing problem of potable water supply and used to travel close to two hours to fetch water.

## TSORONA SUB-ZONE: BENEFIT SCHEME PAID TO FAMILIES OF FALLEN HEROES

In line with the Government's benefit scheme to families of heroes all over the country, over Nfa. 9 million has been paid to the said families in Tsorona sub-zone.

Previously, the families used to

travel to Dekemhare to receive the payment, but now it is being carried out in their respective villages.

The beneficiaries commended the Government for its continued support.

## AREZA-ZIBAN DEBRI ROAD RENOVATED

The 32 km.-long Areza-Ziban Debri road which was damaged due to heavy rains has been renovated. The Administrator of Areza sub-zone, Mr. Mohammed Hamid, said that the road is expected to help improve the living standards of the inhabitants of Arawti, Adi-His'a and Ziban Debri administrative areas.

Over 2,500 families live in the aforementioned villages.

The Administrator indicated that the local inhabitants have taken active participation in the undertaking. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the three villages have carried out the construction of canals and catchments so as to avoid erosion.

## MINISTRY EXTENDS LOAN TO DISABLED NATIONALS IN GINDA SUB-ZONE

The branch office of the Ministry of Labor and Human Welfare in Ginda sub-zone has extended over 1.6 million Nakfa in interest-free loan to disabled nationals. Each beneficiary received 30,000 Nakfa to be paid back within 30 months.

The head of the branch office called on the beneficiaries to use the loan for improving their standard of living. The beneficiaries commended the Government for its care and asserted to make good use of the loan.

## Commentary

### The Speech Of The TPLF's Prime Minister: A Lament Born Out Of Perturbation

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, the Prime Minister of the TPLF clique by summoning parliament made a long wail of a speech characterized by perturbation and anxiety. He said that in order to remove what he called "tension" from the Eritrean side he has finalized all the necessary and extensive military preparations from the Ethiopian side. Similarly, he was heard narrating a lengthy speech on the Somali issue in a perturbed and troubled manner.

As to what he is referring as "tension" from the Eritrean side and the so-called military preparations, it is but meant to set terror and use the occasion as an excuse to raise a smoke screen so as to hide from the present domestic chaos. In other words, it is nothing but a lament born out of disturbance.

As to what he has said about Somalia, it is totally a meaningless meandering. The clique doesn't surely know yet what kind of order it will need to perform tomorrow, after it has willfully carried out the invasion licking the boots of foreign forces.

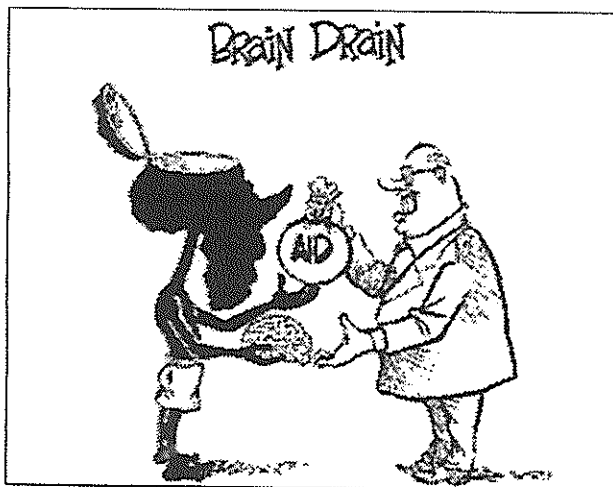
## Opinion

### Foreign Aid Damages Democracy

By Issa G. Shvji

Popular classes and masses have been turned into a helpless lump of poor waiting with bowls in their hand to receive "poverty reduction funds." Curiously, the dialectic opposite of 'the poor' is not 'the rich' but 'the donors'! The analytical question is not 'how-the-poor-became-poor and continue to be so', but rather 'how many are poor, moderately poor, very poor' and how long would it take to eradicate poverty?

What is the conceptual status of 'good governance'? At the minimum, liberal and radical paradigms would agree that governance refers to the institutions and relations to do with political power: the way political power is exercised and legitimized. In other words, governance is constructed primarily on the terrain of power. Thus articulated, the values and principles by which governance would be judged and characterized relate to forms of governance, such as democratic governance or authoritarian governance or dictatorial governance. The "good governance" discourse, however, does not admit of the relationships of power. Rather it presents itself as a moral paradigm, distinguishing between the good, the bad and the evil. What is 'good' and 'bad' governance thus turns out to be a moral judgment, on



the one hand, and relativist and subjectivist, on the other. The result, I want to suggest, is that 'good governance' has no conceptual or theoretical value in understanding a phenomenon with a view to change it. Rather, it is, at best, a propagandist tool easily manipulatable by whoever happens to wield power.

One of the political conditionalities imposed on African governments by the IFIs and the "donor-community" is 'good governance'. This has become a flexible tool in the hands of global hegemonies to undermine the sovereignty of African nations and the struggle for democracy of the African people. For, the people are no longer the agency of change but rather the victims of "bad governance" to be delivered or redeemed by the erstwhile donor-community. The instrument of this deliverance is supposedly the policies and political conditions — multi-party, governance

commissions — which must be put in place for a state to qualify to receive 'aid'. The recipients on their part 'reform' their governance structures, with aid and technical assistance from the same 'donor-community', to satisfy their, what these days are called, "partners". The example from my country, which is far more subtle, and relatively more independent in its relationship with 'partners', illustrates the point.

In Tanzania, we have first a ministry, headed by a full-fledged minister, of good governance. Then, through donor pressure, the Government was obliged to establish a Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance with aid from the Danish government. Among the first things was to build a gargantuan structure to house the Commission and establish the infrastructure at a cost of over 1.5 billion

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### Part III

However things were not as they were supposed to be for the TPLF leadership. Those which it befriended without much confidence never extended the desired assistance. Besides the TPLF began armed confrontation with EDU and in November 1977 by changing its countenance it approached the EPLF and once again expressed its desire to renew its relationship and work together. It also requested a meeting to be conducted. Even though the EPLF already knew that the TPLF is such a masquerader, it readily accepted the invitation. And in the meeting, the EPLF not only strongly reprimanded the TPLF leadership but also strongly advised it to make constructive amendment in its plan and pursue a clear agenda with regards to the request of the people of Tigray as well as on the issue of unity of the people of Ethiopia. And the EPLF promised unreserved assistance if the TPLF reforms its strategy and work by charting a realistic objective and action program. It accepted the plea and the relationship between the two organizations became normal once again. Moreover an agreement was reached to continue the assistance between both of them.

Based on this understanding, the EPLF, in order to boost the military capability of the TPLF delivered sizeable amount of weapons and ammunitions. It also trained a number of TPLF fighters on operating heavy artillery, de-mining and other military activities. The TPLF also secured a base in Mai-Idaga i.e. on Eritrean territories. A road corridor that would enable it pass to Suadn was also made accessible. Besides to upgrade the military capability of the TPLF joint offensives were waged against the enemy in Seron and other places of Tigray. In those times, the health service of the TPLF was below standard. For that reason, adequate health assistance was provided to war-injured TPLF fighters in the health centers of the EPLF. Consequently, this assistance enabled the TPLF to buoy up from its opponents and other competing militant forces. The TPLF waged armed confrontation with EDU at the end of 1977, and in March 1978 with EPRP. And it not only managed to survive in that armed conflict, but also it won the fight and marched out victorious. And this enabled it to be master of the battlefields of Tigray. And this for no other reason but for the mere fact that it had a reliable supporter behind.

When it was conducting its first congress back in 1979, encouraged by this victory, the leadership of the TPLF expressed its desire to augment its military power so as to strengthen its offensive against the Derg regime. Declaring that its relationship with the EPLF is based on principle, the TPLF expressed its desire to further strengthen the bilateral alliance. And once again it said it is requiring more assistance from its ally. Based on this, the EPLF again extended to it considerable amount of weaponry, ammunition, health kits and other essential equipment. Besides, beginning in April, 1979 the EPLF allowed the TPLF leadership to transmit its radio programs via the "The Voice of the Broad Masses" in Tigrigna and Amharic languages. It was known as the "The Voice of Woyane Tigray" that was tuned towards the people of Tigray and Ethiopia respectively. Ironically, it later scolded the EPLF using the very dissemination tool it secured in assistance, while still in the liberated area of Eritrea.

Realizing that the Tigrayan people had endured innumerable atrocities at the hands of successive Ethiopian rulers and considering their historical ties with the Eritrean people the EPLF had always been supportive of the Tigray people's just cause despite the TPLF's ambiguous outlook and wavering stance. Just looking at the EPLF records of 1981, we can detect that the TPLF had received 1,750 different types of guns, 55 machine guns, four 8m.m. mortars, two B-10s, 5,000 grenades, over half a million of ammunitions, one x-ray machine and many other medical equipments from the EPLF. This being just one example of the assistances given before and after 1981, the TPLF was always given the armaments captured in joint military operations.

Besides these military and medical assistances, the EPLF also tirelessly and continuously provided the TPLF with political advise to amend its deceptive and sinister ways, set a clear objective as regards the Tigrayan question and Ethiopian unity as a whole, and strive to lead the Tigrayan people's struggle with integrity and perception. This is a historical truth that the TPLF would not dare deny. However, even then, whilst receiving genuine support from the EPLF, the TPLF's hidden agenda had at intervals bubbled to the surface despite their efforts to seem as if they have reformed their political outlook and approach.

In October 1981, in a meeting held in Khartoum between the leaders of both the EPLF and the TPLF, the latter had raised a drawn out argument that the chances were very slim for the Tigrayan people's question to find a suitable answer within a united Ethiopia. Records from the meeting also indicate that the clique, no doubt in an effort to present itself as experienced and knowledgeable, had tried out its hand in giving the EPLF a lecture as regards to military operation strategies. In the course of the Khartoum meeting, the EPLF leadership was able to realize that the TPLF's untried and rash attitude was still in place. Still, the EPLF chose to continue its support to this organization in the hope that with time its leaders might become aware of their unrealistic philosophy and develop some sense. The EPLF had continued its support to the TPLF simply because it firmly believed that the question of the Tigrayan people was just and legitimate, even if they had such reckless and narrow-minded leaders.

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part IV

The EPLF had continued its political, military and moral support to the TPLF simply because it firmly believed that the question of the Tigrayan people was just and legitimate, even if they had such reckless and narrow-minded leaders. As a matter of fact, the relations were not always smooth. Indeed, the TPLF leadership was making senseless moves that emanated from lack of experience and naive features. During the October 1981 leadership meeting of both the TPLF and EPLF held in Khartoum, the TPLF leaders had presented incomprehensible points saying, "We have a lot of differences with the EPLF in our points of view". However, the EPLF leadership was keen and sensible that it responded to the TPLF, "We have viable revolutionary grounds to go along with our struggle, besides our mutual benefits are far more stronger than our difference". This endorsed the mutual military cooperation and provided added impetus to the struggle of both peoples. As a result, Eritrean freedom fighters fought by the side of the TPLF in Tigrayan soil in 1982, and so did the TPLF fighters by standing on the side of the EPLF force in some military operations in the Sahel trenches. Hence, like all the martyrs, glory and respect goes to the TPLF martyred fighters in Eritrea and also to the fallen Eritrean heroes and heroines who laid down their lives in the Tigray battlefields!

Such cooperation and joint operations had indeed not only created favourable grounds for both Eritrean and Tigrayan fighters but also induced great hope to both peoples. Leaders of the Woyane were, however restless by the bond created among fighters of both the EPLF and that of Tigray. Accordingly, the Woyane leaders wedged continued watch through its cadres upon its fighters to make sure they don't establish close ties with the Eritrean revolutionary fighters.

Dismayed by the strengthened ties between fighters of both sides, the Woyane leaders, following their second party congress in 1983, gathered their forces under the pretext of "Army reinforcement" and had stopped its forces from fighting any military operation against the Derg regime inside Eritrea. Indeed, it is plain and clear that the Woyane came up with that diabolic hope that the EPLF would be weakened in fighting the Derg regime all on its own. Hence, considering the fact that the EPLF foiling and deteriorating continuous enemy operations with the TPLF leadership refraining from any military move would jeopardize the then growing revolutionary ties of both peoples, another round of meeting between leaders of both the EPLF and the TPLF was arranged in June and July of 1983 in Khartoum.

Yet again, the TPLF leaders raised a copy of excuses that include, "We have a lot of misunderstanding and differences with the EPLF". Some of the then presented complaints alleged, "The EPLF does not have a clear policy as regards the right to self-determination of suppressed peoples, the EPLF not supporting independence of Tigray from Ethiopia would not let us work in harmony, military strategy of the EPLF is wrong, the EPLF does not have a clear stand concerning international and regional issues, they didn't even condemn the Communist Soviet Union..." and more other issues.

The point raised as regards the right to self-determination of peoples was indeed a very critical juncture that highlighted the double-crossing point of view of the Woyane. The EPLF leadership has to this end underlined that the question of the people of Tigray was just and legitimate and that it should be solved within the realm of the unity and integrity of Ethiopia. As for the rest of the drawn out arguments, the EPLF leadership performed the best of its acumen to proudly end the hours of argument by announcing that such reckless issues would not subdue the mutual mission of both peoples against a common enemy, and gave the TPLF leaders an insight to keep up their fight against the tyrant and thus herald the just struggle of the Tigrayan people. Ironically, the Woyane leaders were not yet satisfied because the EPLF leadership would not change its stand regarding the question of the Tigrayan people and the issue of Ethiopia's unity.

Even after the Khartoum meetings, the Woyane launched a large-scale blackmail offensive against the EPLF among the Tigrayan masses and fighters as a reflection of their dissatisfaction. Claiming to "cleanse them from the socio-imperialist culture and mind set they were influenced with by the EPLF", the TPLF began a campaign of brainwashing the military units that were deployed in Eritrea. Some of the unusual stories that the then Woyane fighters can still remember is the decision taken to severely punish and put into rehabilitation a battalion claimed to "have become extremely contaminated with EPLF politics". TPLF leaders at that point in time released the manifesto that was originally issued in 1976 and quickly pulled away from the public arena, and began openly campaigning with it involving fighters and the population. Also claiming "our land on the south starts from the Alawaha valley, comprising of Tselemti and Welkait on the west and the districts of Badme and Tsorona, which are in Eritrea, belong to us. And we also have a sea gate through Bada". The TPLF hopped to start a practical offensive against the EPLF on the ground by launching alluring campaigns among the Tigrayan masses. Nonetheless, the EPLF overlooked those plots by underlining the fact that colonial boundaries are plain and clear so as not to comply with the unremitting campaigns the TPLF leadership was engaged on.

On top of their engagement in such diabolic efforts to get the EPLF into undesired arguments and conflicts, the Woyane also abused the genuine permission of using *Dimtsi Hafash* airwaves to enlighten and upraise their people, and geared their propaganda against the EPLF. Indeed, the peoples and revolutionary fighters of Eritrea and Tigray found it ironic to see the shameless TPLF leaders propagating reckless defamatory statements targeted against the EPLF through the airwave granted to them out of the goodwill of the EPLF. Yet, because the people and fighters of Tigray were well aware of the situation on the ground, the EPLF leadership did not bother to respond to these baseless and insane propaganda attempts. Disappointed of its own self, the TPLF leaders were eventually compelled to pull out from the *Dimtsi Hafash* out of their own accord and cut off their connections with the EPLF.

# Somalia: A Case That Reaffirmed The Eritrean Government's Credibility And Insight

For the last 15 years the Somali people, had endured not only the disintegration of central political power and balkanization of central government but also suffered due to the resulting sectarian divisions as well as the ever changing agreements among various warlords. After 15 years of chaos, the Somali people, fed up with incessant conflict, had through their own initiative taken a decisive step towards national reconstitution.

Yet this positive initiative was not a welcome development to some quarters and hence they immediately set out to destroy the Somali people's first most optimistic prospect in years through launching an invasion through their chosen agent, the TPLF.

The Government of Eritrea had from the outset taken a clear stand on the Somali issue and stated its conviction in that the brotherly people of Somalia have the right to be the authors of their own destiny regardless of the existing differences in outlook, and the reconstitution of a united Somalia should be given the highest priority.

H.E President Isaias had on various occasions given the following profound messages in this regard.

"Not only shouldn't there be a war in Somalia at any time now but the situation could without much difficulty be steered into a better direction by just giving due consideration to the points outlined below:

### 1. Avoiding External Military Intervention

In the face of external military intervention, the political reality in Somalia could assume a polarized scenario which then again could lead to further conflict. Regardless of the guise or reasoning given to cover it up, the immediate consequences of military intervention by the TPLF will be very dangerous considering the existing political wariness. Thus military intervention by any side and particularly by the TPLF should be avoided.

### 2. Refrain from associating the Somali issue with international terrorism activities

Associating the Somali issue with international terrorist activities not only lacks credibility but is also a rash and unrealistic dream speaking from a political point of view.

### 3. The only solution is a political dialogue and conference among the Somali people.

The Somali issue should and could only be resolved through an internal political discussion aimed at national reconstitution. The role of external forces or partners in peace should be limited to only providing a conducive atmosphere and giving supportive counsel to the domestic political dialogue among the Somalis."

In the interview he gave on December 28, 2006 in the port city of Massawa, President Isaias had accurately predicted the possible outcome of the invasion by the TPLF.

"The TPLF is beating the drum of success of being able to trounce over innocent Somali civilians through warplanes and tanks. But in my opinion, the regime is only marching toward a deep quagmire from which it cannot get out. The basic issue here is the question of Somali as a nation and the choice of the Somali people. The Somali people have made their choice of national reconstitution unmistakably clear. This choice and initiative of the Somali people might be hampered temporarily, but in the end no external power can hold up the desire of the people for long. The false pretensions of success by the invaders will soon lack credibility and meaning in the face of the people's choice."

Now 8 months later, the truth and credibility of the practical outlooks of the Government of Eritrea in this case have shone as brightly as rainbow after rain. The enslaved regime and its enslavers, contrary to their initial drum-beatings of victory, have recently been mournfully admitting that their invasion of Somalia had indeed been a mistake. Just as the saying goes, "he who laughs last laughs the longest".

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part V

### • The Second Request Of The TPLF To Restore Relations

As was outlined in the past issues of this article, the leadership of the TPLF by thwarting its relations with the EPLF and suspending the military operations it waged against the Derg regime in Tigray became involved in drawing the EPLF in to conflict by raising irrelevant matters like the border issue and other trivial arguments. However, due to the tolerant and mature leadership of the EPLF this never escalated into a situation which could have led both the people into unnecessary confrontation. The TPLF plot to weaken the military power of the EPLF was also not realized. Contrary to this, EPLF fighters decimated the huge colonial army the "Wukaw Iz" in 1984 which had been building up a huge garrison for about five years in the North-eastern Sahel front. And by conducting fast and coordinated counter-offensives around the towns of Tessenei and Barentu the EPLF army repulsed the extensive enemy assault of the so called "Operation Bahri Negash". And in areas that lay behind enemy lines including Asmara Airport, the EPLF undertook a number of hit and run operations that eventually weakened the Derg regime. And in March, 1988 the EPLF encircled and destroyed the "Nadew Iz" a colonial military command alleged to own special and strong army that had been stationed around the Nakfa Front.

The TPLF, which is accustomed to political acrobatics and capricious behavior, after observing that out of its expectation the balance of power is shifting to the advantage of the EPLF in a very short period, without any shame or disdain once again officially expressed its intent to make peace with the EPLF through its own radio broadcast. And it also requested that a meeting of both leaderships be held to restore relations back to normal. In line with this, a meeting was held on April 1988 between the two leaderships in Khartoum, Sudan. And some of the points which gained consensus in that meeting include:

-The two organizations to focus more on working together at the current situation instead of looking back on their differences and problems so as to promote the aspirations of the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia;

-Develop extensive military cooperation between the two organizations and also augment their information exchange;

-The leadership of the TPLF to reawaken its military operation that it had deliberately stalled and the EPLF to extend the necessary military assistance, including tanks, ammunitions, mobile workshops for weapons and vehicles maintenance to the TPLF fighters;

-Coordination between both organizations in the domains of politics and diplomacy to be strengthened;

After this meeting a new atmosphere of partnership emerged. And continuous meetings that consummated in mutual understanding gained momentum. These had the agenda of how to untangle Ethiopia's political problems, respect the right of the people of Tigray to self-determination and other nationalities of Ethiopia, on how to unite the different opposition forces, on the transitional government that would be established after the fall of the Derg that will have to include all opposition organizations in Ethiopia, on how to resolve the Eritrean question and other many issues.

Under this new understanding, both organizations' individual and joint military operations continued with increased momentum. The EPLF mechanized unit as well as the special commando units, armed with tanks, artilleries, anti-tank and anti-air missiles had fought along with TPLF soldiers in the battles ranging from liberating the town of Shire (Tigray) to the final battle in Addis Ababa. The martyrdom of Eritreans in these battles had been not only to secure peace in Eritrea but also to establish stability in Ethiopia so as to create an atmosphere in which both peoples can embark upon a new chapter of history.

In keeping with this noble initiative, the EPLF as well as Eritreans residing in Ethiopia who were later to be expelled from that country on a mere accusation of "we don't like the color of your eyes" by the TPLF, had done all they can to reinforce the government which the TPLF had established. When Eritrea achieved its sovereignty after a popular referendum in 1993 and became a member of the international community, H.E. President Isaias Afwerki made an official visit in Addis-Ababa from 28-30 July, 1993. In this historical visit, agreements were signed to promote a bilateral cooperation in different fields between the Eritrean and Ethiopian Governments including political, economic and cultural domains taking into consideration the historical and brotherly ties between the people of the two countries. And the ports of Massawa and Assab, which the people and Government of Ethiopia were using freely starting from the independence of Eritrea were once again officially declared to remain open to Ethiopia.

These agreements that were intended to promote good neighborliness and strong bilateral relations by closing the chapter of conflict and healing the wounds of war sustained by the two peoples represented a positive development in our region which was lauded not only by the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia but also by the people of the world at large. Despite this however, the TPLF clique even at this stage was welcoming bankrupt groups that claim opposition to the Eritrean government, and secondly through its minor cadres it was engaged in obstructing the major agreements by instigating confrontations especially in the border areas of the two countries.

## Medeber: A Seat Of Culture And Innovation

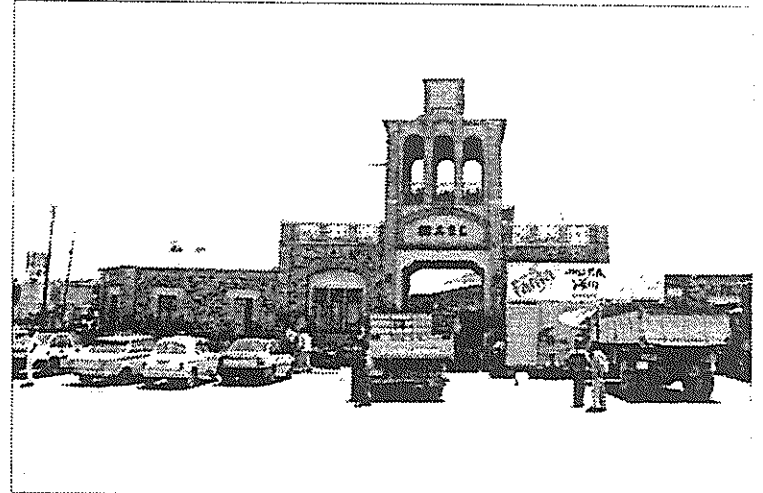
By: Dawit Ghebre

Medeber was built by the Italian colonial authorities in 1915 in order to organize and regulate all the caravan trade from the provinces of Eritrea and from the neighbouring countries in the capital Asmara.

Inside Medeber within the high stone walls, stables, deposits and small shops that sell the freshly

and recycling everything. Thus Eritreans were initiated to recreate what was not available in other ways. So cars, sewing machines, fridges, and millwheels continue to work for years and years, till now.

Medeber may have lost its first colourful appeal, the get together of cultures and languages, anyway it has become the school for generations of craftsmen, a



arrived commodities and cheap restaurants that render services to the traders and camel men to rest and conduct their business deals peacefully used to occupy the larger portion of the area.

Specially in the first twenty years, before trucks and trains were used for transportation of goods, Medeber was the market place where it was possible to see, different ethnic groups gathered together in few hundreds square meters: Rashaida, Kunama, Tigrinya, Nara, Rashaida, Tigrè along with Italians, Greeks, Sudanese, Somalis, Jews, Bahanians and Arabs - everyone with its own ethnic colours and idioms creating such a Babel Tower. According to the witnesses it was difficult to believe that they could even understand each other.

Despite all this, they manage to do their business and few policemen were enough to keep the order of the place. [The appeal of the Muezzin never did contrast with the music sung and danced around the camp fires]...

A lot of goods were available at Medeber: coffee, spices, ivory, bananas, salt, textiles, frankincense, woods, silver, and gold. So Medeber always holds appeal to the people that had the chance to visit it.

During the British rule some changes occurred. The changes were mainly due to exclusive use of tracks to deliver goods directly to the private shops in town due to lack of goods. So in few years the deposits of Medeber were used only to stock out of order machineries and spare parts of cars and trucks.

As a result, the shortage of supplies of goods led to utilising

place were to learn a skilful jobs necessary to the whole Eritrean society.

Many thought that with the departure of the Europeans from Eritrea in the sixties that Medeber was going to lose its appeal but they were proven wrong. Little they know about the skill and the great capability of the Eritrean craftsmen: they can take an exhausted tyre and in few minutes turn it into any kind of gasket, lining, soles for shoes, seats, school bags, belts, long rubber bands.

But what is really impressive is the recovery and recycle of tin and other kind of metals, carts full of empty petrol cans, wavy metal sheets unload their loads and hundreds craftsmen planish and hammer and transform all that metal into useful objects.

The place is noisy but many great things came out of it. It is really impossible to communicate with anyone, so it's better just to watch the magical hands holding hammers and elementary tools create any kind of cases, *forneillos*, *magogos*, lamp holders, forks and spoons, Coptic crosses, pans and casseroles of all dimension, beds and spare parts of cars.

From old wood furniture's they create all kind of furniture, doors, windows, frames, baseboards, church seats, even crutches and artificial limbs.

The people that have kept Medeber alive with their daily work may not be conscious of what they are doing for the whole Eritrean society, but they are a clear example of our great culture. And surely Medeber is not only a place to satisfy the eye of tourists in search of local folkish colour.

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part VI

### • *EPRDF: TPLF's Cloak OF Ethiopian Identity*

In previous articles, we had seen that the TPLF, under the 'Manifesto 68', had initially set out with Tigrayan independence in mind. But finding little outside support, and particularly due to the EPLF's insistence that the Tigrayan question could only be resolved within a united Ethiopia, the clique had been forced to develop a twin-edged and confused approach. Despite the TPLF's claims that its objective is to 'secure the Tigrayan people's right to self-determination', its narrow-minded separatist intentions had continued to grow under the covers and had greatly influenced the regime's decision making process after it gained power.

Based on this twin-edged approach, before coming to power, the TPLF had on top of its hidden agenda outlined a crude and fake political program regarding a united Ethiopia and established small satellite organizations that would supposedly represent other Ethiopian ethnic groups. The TPLF then brought together these small organizations to form its own version of a united front and named it the EPRDF. Hence, the EPRDF was not formed as per the initiative of the member organizations but is a cloak of disguise weaved by the TPLF to hide its true agenda. After gaining control in Addis Ababa through military force, the TPLF/ EPRDF established a seemingly Ethiopian government by incorporating the afore-mentioned satellite organizations and other opposition groups, and in 1992 drafted a constitution that suited its narrow interests. Looking at the regime's actions directly after it gained power, it is easy to see that they reflect the thus far hidden objectives outlined in the 'Manifesto 68'. The following points clearly confirm the above stated fact:

1. As is generally known, the new Ethiopian constitution drafted by the EPRDF/TPLF allows different Ethiopian ethnic groups "the right to self-determination up to secession". This Article of the constitution was included not to provide other oppressed Ethiopian ethnic groups an independent choice but rather to put a legal cover on the anti-Ethiopian unity objectives of the 'Manifesto 68'. Exploiting the Ethiopian people's wealth for as long as possible until the time came for seceding the Tigrayan province, the TPLF, ever since coming to power, has been busy paving the way for its ludicrous plan.

2. The TPLF/EPRDF had introduced the federal mode of administration for the sole objective of weakening Ethiopian nationalism and encouraging sub-national sentiments. The regime had divided Ethiopia into different regions on the basis of ethnicity so as to break up the Ethiopian people's unity and thereby paralyze any potential opposition.

3. In defining the borders of the various Ethiopian regions, the regime had directly applied the expansionist objectives outlined in the 'Manifesto 68'. Thus, the borders of Tigray region were stretched to the Alowha River to the south, Welkait and Tselemti were included to the west, and some parts of the Afar territories were also added. Except for occupying parts of Eritrean land and sea, all the other necessary steps towards establishing the Tigrayan Republic had been taken.

4. We had seen at the beginning of this article that the TPLF had from the start set out to exploit the oppressed Tigrayan people's struggle for its own political and economic interests. The first economic steps the regime had taken after coming to power had been to drain Ethiopian wealth towards Tigray province by setting up large corporations under the management of its highest-ranking leaders under the pretext of 'oppressed groups of people deserve preferential treatment' as is outlined in the new Ethiopian constitution. However, none of the oppressed Tigrayan people had benefited from this blatant exploitation of Ethiopian wealth except the TPLF leaders' family and relations. This attests to the fact that the TPLF had used the Tigrayan people as a tool for securing power and wealth but had no concern whatsoever for their welfare. Hence, this faction is not Ethiopian, nor is it Tigrayan despite originating from among them. In fact this regime is quite a stranger to the Tigrayan people.

In the past 16 years of TPLF leadership, the Tigrayan and Ethiopian people as a whole had seen the regime use the just cause of the Tigrayan people for its own interests, gain power at the expense of their sacrifice and single-mindedly pursue its own individual economic and political gains. The regime had betrayed the Tigrayan people's cause and martyrdom and exploited the Ethiopian people's wealth so as to build its dream Republic. Unfortunately for the TPLF, however, the dream had remained just a dream. Its sinister schemes to instigate division and conflict among the Ethiopian people had backfired. Since things don't always work out as planned, the steps the regime had taken to secure its narrow interests had served in shortening its stay in power. This clique that created chaos in a nation through antiquated politics is then now hovering on the brink of its final hours. Since it had in the first place come to power by betraying a popular cause, the regime is an orphan group that will find none to commiserate with it after its demise. The TPLF has already fallen into the hole it dug for itself through its sinister ways and it won't be long before it receives the final deathblow.

# International Terrorism & its...

*Continued From Page 5*

seek air, water and road commercial interests.

### Conclusion

Throughout the world, terrorism reinvents itself in new and more dangerous forms. As older groups are defeated or exhausted, more radical and more violent successors often take their place and the same position prevails today within the TPLF organization. The majority group came forward with the idea of Ethiopian unity and integrity that rectifies their understanding with regards to secessionism and opposed TPLF terrorism. Today, Ethiopian community is fed up with the TPLF movement because of the pathetic social and economic conditions of the country.

The demise of erstwhile Soviet Union in post 1990 and role of USA needs to be referred once again. Soviet Republic fragmented into 17 states on the name of self-determination including the right to secession mainly on two reasons:

1. The internal conditions of USSR become hostile to the system because of lack of basic amenities, employment, health and social security.

2. US took it as an opportunity and throw billions of dollars for the successful secession, which leads US to announce single hegemonic power in the world.

The political, social and economic condition of newly emerged states is a challenging one and most of them accept US economic dominance. The same position may be repeated in Ethiopia depending merely upon US interests. The US neocolonial expansion will get strengthened in the divided Ethiopia in general and opportunity for internal interference

in Horn of Africa in particular. The Ethiopian community needs to understand US-Woyane clique keeping the recent past experience of USSR, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, etc. in mind and work for unity and people's government. President Isaias rightly mentions, "We have really learnt a lesson in the past 16 years that we even did not expect or thought about. But there couldn't be any power existing that would hinder the development of relations between Ethiopians and us. --I just want to substantiate that the people and Government of Eritrea stand along side the Ethiopian people" (Eritrea Profile, 20 June 2007). The people choice for the government will stop hostile environment of international terrorism on the one hand and strengthen non-interference, regional peace in IGAD countries on the other hand. Chapter two refers to **Fundamental Principles of the Constitution** and Article 9 highlights **Supremacy of the Constitution** says,

1. "All sovereign power resides in the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia.

2. "This Constitution is an expression of their sovereignty.

3. "Their sovereignty shall be expressed through their representatives elected in accordance with this constitution and through their direct democratic participation" (Ethiopia Constitution: 2).

There is a need to respect the land of law that will only help people's development. The implementation of the constitution will usher a new path of socio-economic and political development for the Ethiopia community in general and peaceful Horn of Africa will strengthen mutual trade cooperation in particular.

# JOINT MEETING OF ERITREAN CABINET OF MINISTERS AND ...

*Continued From Page 1*

called for keeping up such a noble culture on the part of the Eritrean society.

The meeting went on to review the readiness that members of the public had shown in mitigating legal cases themselves following the establishment of community magistrates in all the regions and administrations in the past couple of years and the overall contribution resulting from the initiative taken to this end, including easing the work load for the institutions dealing with the administration of justice.

At the end of its first phase of deliberations yesterday, the Meeting of the Ministerial Cabinet and Regional Administrators issued work directives as regards agricultural programs set for implementation nationwide during the current rainy season, and thus accomplish tasks connected with infrastructure and agro-industrial plants on the basis of specific time framework and outline of details. In the evening hours, it held detailed discussions on a study paper presented by the Minister of Agriculture regarding "Strategic Plan for Modern Eritrean Agriculture 2007-2009."

# TPLF: A Clique That Created Chaos In A Nation Through Antiquated Politics

## Part VII

### • The product of sub-national politics

One of the main factors contributing to the political crisis and overall collapse of Ethiopia is the ways and means pursued by consecutive leaders of the country, who failed to follow a political goal that is of national dimension and one that serves all segments of the society equally while promoting respect for the human rights of each and every Ethiopian. Instead by masquerading behind a selected nationality, they opt to crush others through power, which as such is backward as well as vulgar aspect and part of sub-national politics.

As history attests, Emperors Menelik and Haileselassie tried to subdue all other non-Amhara entities at gun-point by considering them second or third class citizens. All political and administrative components, the ownership of land and other resources in the country were made to fall under the Amhara nobility. The Marxist Derg regime which inherited the throne was unable to bring about another reliable common ideology, that is free from this paternal conceit. As there can't exist a society that would be oppressed and mauled for ever, the people of Ethiopia, overcoming the hegemony of the minority and persecution which they couldn't tolerate got rid off these regimes one after the other and throw them into the dustbin of history through organized and spontaneous opposition. These preceding regimes though they appeared to favor the Amharas, in real terms they were of no avail to the majority. They simply used them as a shield except very few lords and other people in position of power. In fact these ill-fated Amhara nationality group became objects of animosity on the part of other Ethiopians due to the alleged representation they were assumed to have for leadership.

The TPLF regime which assumed power after the fall of these tyrant regimes, should have learned more by gleaning from previous experiences. It should have established a democratic system that involves all nationalities giving equal political opportunity to all. A just administration that answers the question of Tigray as well as the request of all other Ethiopians should have been set up. However, even this regime by blunting the revolutionary struggle initiated by the people of Tigray for respect of their rights, managed to mould it into a shallow mission of vendetta. And by using the people of Tigray as a pretext while subjugating and suppressing other peoples, far worse sub-national politics was brought to the fore by this regime which degenerated to the extent of incorporating it into the national constitution. And it decided to guarantee its continued stay in power in such a way. Understanding beforehand that ethnic politics breeds confrontation and disturbance rather than peace and tranquility, the people of Ethiopia have from the outset been opposing vehemently the sub-national politics that the TPLF tried to legalize under the pretext of Federalism. Nevertheless, promoting this antiquated politics as a favorite means applied by the developed nations and presenting it as an indication of democracy and still by giving a deaf ear to the majority, the TPLF implemented it through force without the will of the people. And the outcome was not that much different than what the people of Ethiopia have long expected. Ethnic clashes and unrest rocked Ethiopia turning it into an awful bloodbath during the rule of the TPLF which the country had never experienced before in its history.

Right from the start, the people of Ethiopia have been continuously opposing this sub-national politics which currently has plunged the country into a complicated political crisis. And to break the opposition of the people through the barrel of the gun, the current regime frequently carried out unparalleled genocide, which is difficult to record and recite. When the clique set foot in Addis Ababa for the first time, it began its tenure in office by spilling the blood of innocent people. Without going far in 2001, the regime by opening fire on university students massacred a number of youths. In 2002, in the towns of Nekemtie, Ambo and other areas of Ormoia dozens of Oromo youngsters were indiscriminately murdered. And following the 2005 elections, the killing spree that broke out in many Ethiopian urban centers which took the lives of innocent students and civilians are few of the many shocking incidents carried out by the regime. Furthermore, in addition to the indiscriminate killings the regime has done on its own, it fueled ethnic clashes in many corners of the country over the past 16 years in line with the sinister belief, "we can survive only if we instigate frequent clashes among the people", and as such this resulted in gruesome ethnic-based conflict. The ethnic clashes that ignited between the people of Gerina and Borena, Mezdjenger and Shiko, Guji and Borena, Sidama and Guji, Gedeo and Guji, Gamo and Dawro, Hadia and Kenbata, Siltie and Gurage, Harari and Oromo, Afar and Somalis, Nuer and Agnwak are few of the many conflicts that brought about untold decimation. And this is a glaring outcome of the sub-national politics that the regime cynically employs.

It is, however, far from possible to hold on to power by terrorizing and frightening people. What the regime has done to guarantee its continued stay in power on the contrary gave rise to a strong armed and civilian confrontation, which eventually became a totally inextinguishable fire that is nearly pushing the regime down the slope.

A clique like the TPLF that grabbed power representing a segment of society, if it really had the concern of its people and again takes into consideration the safe road ahead, first and foremost it should have created a conducive environment for its people to foster peaceful and good neighborly ties with other people. Because, it can only lay a reliable and secure foundation for development and prosperity if and only if there exists peace and respect among the people of the whole country and towards those of neighboring countries.

In this respect, if we ask what the people of Tigray, who have paid dearly for assuring their own self-determination had benefited out of the TPLF regime, the answer is very depressing: There has never been a day when the people of Tigray had peace during the TPLF regime's rule. On the contrary, the leadership of the TPLF, in order to satisfy a narrow sentiment, gluttony and interest, has used the people of Tigray as a pretext by subjecting them to a multitude of atrocities without any kind of care. Using the people of Tigray as a shield, it opted to conduct unpalatable crime and destruction on other peoples. And this has created much enmity and abhorrence towards the people of Tigray. The crimes perpetuated by the TPLF have made the people of Tigray to be looked upon as cruel and fiendish. The TPLF clique which has set chaos throughout the country as a result of its antiquated politics has

made the people of Tigray initiate a polarized state of confrontation with its age-old partners, i.e. fellow Ethiopians. It has also tricked the people to fight and quarrel with its neighbor, Eritrea, and as a consequence this has left behind a gushing wound as a legacy among the neighboring people.

The time for the collapse of the TPLF regime is not that far. Hence, at this time where the downfall of the TPLF is clearly and boldly visible, the people of Tigray and the people of Ethiopia as a whole, especially the country's political forces need to carefully examine and recognize that from now on there will not be any benefit from employing sub-national politics rather than a piteous, shameful destruction and death. Thus, it is high time that these forces learn from the malicious mistakes of the TPLF and pay heed. Such a sane understanding is the expectation of all those who aspire for peace and development.

## Part VIII

### • Ethiopia's Economic Collapse during the TPLF era

In previous parts of this presentation, an attempt was made to outline the TPLF regime's narrow-minded strategy of derailing the just and legitimate goals of the oppressed Tigrayan people to advance its own agenda as well as the regime's outdated racist policy that plunged the entire peoples of Ethiopia into chaos never witnessed before and incite regional confrontations that claimed the lives of many Ethiopians. However, as it is said 'you reap what you sow', the TPLF regime as a result of its evil strategy both inside Ethiopia and in the region, as a whole has become the black sheep of Ethiopia and the region at large, which accordingly is now doomed to a similar trend of history as the past tyrant rulers upon setting the first steps towards the cliff of its demise. As all the past tyrant regimes however, the TPLF regime is leaving Ethiopia plunged in deep economic quagmire.

Although being endowed with big rivers and other rich natural resources, Ethiopia was compelled to become a reference of famine as an example in various dictionaries owing to the severe drought that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives during the Haileselassie regime and again in millions during the Derg regime. Indeed, because no prosperity or development can be ensured in times of chaos and lack of harmony, Ethiopia was yet again unlucky during the TPLF rule that failed to heal its wounds and further plunged the country into deeper economic crisis and poverty. Woyane's Ethiopia has therefore become one of the first four aid expectant countries in the entire world and Number One in Africa. In the years between 1999 and 2004 alone, statistics show that Ethiopia received an average of over 700,000 tones of relief food aids every year. Nonetheless, the drought wounds Ethiopia sustained were not even with the enormous flow of the said aid. Even at this point in time, around half of that country's population, which statistically approximates over 30 million of people, is experiencing continuous drought threat and malnutrition. Accordingly, close to 15 million of Ethiopians are annually vulnerable to the death threat because of famine.

Although Ethiopia received a total of 25 billion dollars in development assistance and over 10 billion dollars in loan from 1980 onwards, the two major things that have been consuming all such enormous amount of money flow that should have gone to the drought-affected population are known; namely, war and corruption. Again, because these two major causes of Ethiopia's backwardness gained momentum during TPLF rule, international news reports indicate that Ethiopia has become Number One from among the 49 poorest countries in the world both in terms of poverty index and human development. If there is any country in the world that cannot survive a single day without relief aid, it is definitely Ethiopia. Hence, it has become a must for the country to take 600 million dollars loan annually and cover 70% of its annual national budget from aid.

Internationally, it is proven that people with an annual income of less than 900 dollars are living below the poverty line. Accordingly, it would be easy to imagine the severity of Ethiopia's poverty if we take in to account the fact that the per capita income of Ethiopia does not exceed 80 dollars. Having been a recipient of huge relief aid, 75% of the people of Ethiopia do not have access to potable water and 80% are still in the realm of illiteracy. Not only that, Ethiopia is also a country where 200 mothers out of 1,000 face miscarriage during delivery; next to South Africa and India, Ethiopia is the third country in the world in the number of HIV/AIDS victims and 73% of its population is vulnerable to various other diseases due to lack of health facility provisions. The only people who do not have any clue about dress are in Ethiopia. Again, if there is any country with its streets full of exaggerated number of beggars and the homeless, it is Ethiopia.

Shameless of its ill-deeds that pushed Ethiopia into a hell of continuous poverty, the TPLF regime rounded up beggars and homeless Ethiopians and took them to concentration camps to avoid witness of the so-called visitors expected to come for the Ethiopian millennium celebrations.

Having been seated in its current position of leadership in Addis Ababa due to the support of the people of Tigray, like the rest of Ethiopia, the TPLF regime has plunged the Tigrayan people into deeper quagmire of chaos and economic crisis. As development and prosperity cannot be expected from a party that toils to disrupt peace and harmony, the people of Tigray not only did not gain anything, but also lost much from the last 16 years of TPLF leadership. Had peace reigned during the TPLF rule, the Tigrayan people would have thrived and developed province without any support from the TPLF Administration.

Now the Tigrayan people are facing the immediate consequences of the destructive policy the regime is pursuing in Somalia, Eritrea and inside Ethiopia itself. The regime's corrupt officials are laundering and funneling the country's money to their personal accounts, crumbling Ethiopian economy to set up their own companies, bulge their bank accounts and fulfill their other personal desires. It is indeed ironic to consider the Tigrayan people, who have gained nothing, except vain and poverty. It was not for this cause the people of Tigray paid off their lives. In fact, it is a very tragic ending to see the handful in power gain from the legitimate and just struggle of the people. It is by far an event that highlighted the betrayal of "Lekatit" and "Dedebit" at the same time.

From shabait.com

## COMMENTARY

### TPLF: A Clique that created chaos in a nation through antiquated politics (Part IX)

By

Jul 18, 2007, 13:06

#### *Expansionism: One of the decisive factors for the downfall of Ethiopian regimes*

In the previous section of our presentation we have observed how the ethnic politics or the hegemony of a minority on the majority during the Haileselassie and Derg regimes had played a devastating role in throwing them into the dustbin of history. And currently the TPLF regime is in a deep quagmire after pursuing similar political agenda. All these regimes tried to assure the hegemony of a minority and stomp all others, taking this for granted in the process. Hence, they tried to smash essential factors that play a decisive role in the existence of a given people or nation like equality, justice, the rule of law, human rights and respect and, thus guarantee their power through the ideology of force. However, since there can't be a strategy that can serve in subjugating people by terror and fear forever, at last the Haileselassie and Derg regimes devoid of their strength were subjected to a fate they both deserved. And we had reached a stage of the beginning of the last days of the TPLF.

Besides the ethnic politics, which has become the cause of the downfall of successive Ethiopian regimes, a greater cause of their peril has been yawning to own what is not yours or this malicious disease of expansionism, especially towards the sea up North. Expansionism and exploitation can't be achieved through sound political approach. Unless an outdated power-based ideology and irresponsible adventurism are employed. That is why we frequently observe the ideologies of power and arrogance to be the main tools and beliefs of the rulers of Ethiopia. Power and complacency, however, don't have the ability to twist the truth as the history of the world has witnessed and especially as the half century long history of Ethiopia reiterates. Where there is justice there is perseverance and great challenge. The power ideology of the rulers of Ethiopia, which has been continuously smashing against justice, gained nothing but defeat solely due to this underlying fact.

Emperor Haileselassie's dissolution of the UN-backed Federation against the Eritrean people's choice had resulted in a prolonged bloody war during which both Eritrea and Ethiopia suffered grave human and material losses, and in the end became a factor for the Emperor's downfall. Similarly the successor Derg regime, instead of attempting to find a political solution for the Eritrean question, created excitement among the Ethiopian people through outdated politics and false bravado and gambled with their lives and resources in the war in Eritrea. In the end, the Derg regime also met with the same fate as that of its predecessor without even coming close to accomplishing its goals. Reflecting on the experience of both the afore-mentioned regimes, a renowned Ethiopian writer, Be'alu Girma had put forth a significant advice in his book "Oromay". In this book, the protagonist has a beautiful and flawless fiancée, which he names as the "Rose of the Hinterland". But this individual's obsession with another woman he calls the "Northern Star" leads him to lose both women. The author ended his book with the message that "those who want everything tend to eventually lose everything" and implored Ethiopian leaders to realize that their expansionist dreams will amount to nothing.

In an unfortunate historical coincidence, however, after the two failed expansionist attempts to the North, the subsequent TPLF regime came to power with its own version of an astonishing and impractical political agenda. In the first part of this article, we had seen that the TPLF had from the start expansionist intentions as evidenced in the points it outlined in the infamous "Manifesto 68". After coming to power on the basis of the oppressed Tigrayan people's martyrdom and considering itself firmly established in power, the TPLF regime began to take steps to create its dream Republic. To this end, the regime drew an illegal map of the fantasy Tigrayan republic by incorporating parts of Gondar, Wollo and the Afar region. What remained was the land and sea to be incorporated from Eritrea, for which the TPLF declared war on Eritrea under the pretext of border dispute.

The war between Eritrea and Ethiopia from 1998 to 2000, which had resulted in formidable human and material losses and created turmoil in the region, had been waged for two reasons. The first reason was the TPLF regime's desire to defeat the Eritrean people and gain the sea portal its predecessors had failed to secure. The regime had hoped to come out triumphant from this war and assume the image of a champion in the eyes of the Ethiopian people at the expense of the Eritrean people's lives, and thereby prolong its stay in power.

The second and basic reason for war had emanated from the regime's mentality. The TPLF did not believe in Ethiopian unity from the start and realizing that it cannot stay in power for long in a united Ethiopia, it had gambled with the Ethiopian people's lives and resources and declared war on Eritrea as a final step towards establishing the dream Tigrayan republic. When on May 12, 1998, the TPLF accused Eritrea of 'invading' the



town of Badme, the regime more than anyone knew that according to Colonial Agreements of 1900, 1902 and 1908 Badme is an integral part of sovereign Eritrean territories. But, thinking that the logic of power can cover up the truth and naively believing that ludicrous fantasies can turn into reality, the regime set out to realize its dreams by making baseless accusations against Eritrea. However, just as its predecessors, the TPLF had not only failed miserably in the war with Eritrea, but was exposed before the Ethiopian people and the world at large for the lying, scheming and illegal faction it is. As a result of this failure, the TPLF leadership was split in half and its already weak acceptability among the Ethiopian people plummeted. Bewildered in the face of these developments, the regime has since then been running towards its demise at a hastened pace and is now perched on the edge of a cliff.

It has now become explicitly clear to all that the TPLF regime's demise is fast approaching. Yet, the Ethiopian people have had a valuable lesson to learn from the experience of the three successive regimes' (that of Emperor Haileselesie, the Derg and the TPLF) unrelenting wars for Eritrean land and sea. Because the Ethiopian people had gained nothing from the wars with Eritrea except lose the precious lives of their youths.

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## COMMENTARY

### TPLF: A Clique that created chaos in a nation through antiquated politics (Part X and Final)

By

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#### *Servitude: One of the main reasons for the downfall of Ethiopia's regimes*

The tale of Ethiopian colonialists is a history of disgrace founded in loss of self-confidence among themselves and lack of trust in their very own principles and resources. Emperor Haileselesie was during his reign a trusted puppet of superpowers such as the US; he permitted the US Administration to establish a base here in Eritrea and in turn received his share of rewards for his timid service. The emperor even intended to lengthen his tenure of his monarchy by selling out the lives of thousands of peoples in operations conducted in Korea and Congo. Again, the Derg regime sustained its 17-year leadership by holding tight to the former Soviet Union. By the end of the day however, the said superpowers and external support, which they once worshiped could not secure the power of both leaders by suppressing the legitimate rights of the people.

Having no representation of the Ethiopian population or the people of Tigray, the Woyane clique like the past Ethiopian leaders could not build up confidence in it self from the very beginning. As a matter of fact, the TPLF regime did not have goals and political programs that would benefit the people, except for its naïve hunger for power and reaping off the country's resources using its authority. Accordingly, it was not late before the TPLF regime could trace political brokers for mercenaries such as Prof. Paul Hentze, and commenced its master-servant friendship with the US administration. Indeed, the powers that instigate chaos among populations and ensure incessant exploitation of resources would look forward to get egocentric servants that only care about their personal interests and not the interest of their own people. Hence, the TPLF regime was qualified enough to be named the sole US Administration's mercenary in the region and ensure the money flow and support like the rest of US agents to suppress the very rights of their own peoples.

In the previous presentations of this article, we have seen the TPLF regime's self degrading inferiority complex, which ultimately led to undermining of what the same regime has considered giants in the country. In view of that, the TPLF regime followed racist political trend instigating conflicts amongst many societies in the nation and widened the natural cultural gap that led to the current state of affairs in Ethiopia. Fraud administrations such as the US, that consider themselves as "Teachers of democracy" and exploit other peoples' resources in the name of "democracy", are therefore architects of the so-called "Federal Administration" in Ethiopia that toils to squash the country's political giants through racial politics. Surprisingly, the Administration puts on some political make ups to make the actual happening look like a trait of advanced administration and promote the TPLF by providing it arms, while the regime has not shown a single respect to its own people, suppressed just and legitimate question of the people, as well as disrupting peace and stability of the region. Hence, as a result of the TPLF regime's racist policy with the blessing of western powers, the entire people of Ethiopia have over the past 16 years been deprived of their rights and their values were violated by this minority regime.

The TPLF mission was not only limited to suppressing the Ethiopian people but also crumbling the peace and prosperity that prevailed in the region. This puppet regime has proven itself a hunchback of the Horn of Africa by indulging itself to the foreign forces. Consequently, the regime has launched an open invasion against Eritrea and Somalia and had also pursued political and economic agendas to interfere in the internal affairs of Kenya, Sudan and Djibouti.

Indeed, this minority regime that sustained its rule by serving the interests of western powers is therefore not Ethiopian in essence. This being so, if there was anybody that was shocked when the people of Ethiopia unanimously voted out the TPLF regime in the May 2005 elections; it was the Western forces that claim to be "advocates of democracy and supporters of popular choice". Hence, to rescue the tyrannical regime from demise and ensure continuity of the regime's servitude under their wings, the western powers employed their usual double standard political mechanisms and initiated their doomsday conspiracy backing the regime in suppressing the voices of the public coercively. Even though these powers are pampering the TPLF regime with Billions of dollars and millions of tons of aid, it hadn't been able to stand independently. At this point in time, the regime is being trapped in the web it intertwined itself to plunge its own people into a quagmire of chaos and is burning by the fire it set ablaze to disrupt the peace and stability of the region. As a result the regime has once again proved that no authority that counts on the blessing of foreign powers can sustain its power!